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I.—THE DIRAE OF VALERIUS CATO.

Among the poems ascribed to Vergil in the life of the poet commonly attributed to Donatus, but now believed to be by Suetonius, *Deinde catalepton et priapia et epigrammata et diras, item cirim et culicem cum esset annorum xvi*, was one called DIRAE. Again, in a similar list of seven or eight opuscula supposed to be by Vergil, and which Servius mentions in his *Prolegomena to the Aeneid*, *scripsit etiam septem siue octo libros hos : cirim Aetnam culicem priapia catalepton epigrammata Copam Diras*, the DIRAE is mentioned last.

In accordance with these statements of antiquity we find in most MSS of Vergil which contain the opuscula, as well as in other MSS in which the opuscula have been transcribed apart, a poem thus headed : *Dirae Maronis* or *P. Vergilii Maronis Dirae*.

Näke, by whom this poem has been elaborately edited (Bonn, 1847), states that up to the time of Scaliger no hint of the real authorship of this work had been put forward by any philologist. Scaliger, in his edition of 1573, was the first to suggest that the real writer was the grammarian, Valerius Cato.

Suetonius in his *Lives of the Grammarians*, c. xi, states that he wrote, besides some grammatical works, poems, of which the *Lydia* and the *Diana* were considered the best. The *Diana* was thought by the poet Cinna worthy of living for centuries : *Ticida styled the Lydia 'the chief puzzle of the learned,'*

Lydia doctorum maxima cura liber.

Suetonius also tells us that Valerius Cato had been left a minor and had in consequence been dispossessed of his patrimony by the

licence of the Sullan period ; and that he had himself stated this in a libellus intituled *Indignatio*.

These facts of the life of Valerius Cato agree with what the poem *Dirae* records. In it frequent mention is made of a woman called *Lydia*, of whom the poet was enamored ; and the former and larger section of it, 103 lines out of 183, is occupied with an elaborate curse pronounced upon a farm, from which he had been ousted by a soldier, much as Vergil complains in the first Eclogue he had himself been.

About 200 years after Scaliger (so slow is the course of criticism), Friedrich Jacobs observing that the *Dirae*, as it has come down to us, is not one consecutive poem, but made up of two distinct poems, the first of which extends to the end of v. 103, and alone can justly be called a curse, concluded that this part alone belonged to the *Dirae*, the remaining 80 lines to the *Lydia*. Näke, accepting this view, goes on to show that they are only *part* of the *Lydia*, for the words of Ticide, *doctorum maxima cura*, whether interpreted as above, 'greatest puzzle,' or as Markland thought, 'supreme passion,' seem to point to something more than a composition of 80 lines ; and he infers from the fact, mentioned in *Lyd.* 6-8, that Lydia used to sing verses of his, that these verses formed the other part of the complete *liber* known by her name. On this hypothesis the *Lydia*, as known to the poet's contemporaries, would have comprised a number of short poems, probably all amatory. To me the 80 verses seem not so much a separate Eclogue in a series as a fragment extracted from a larger poem. Both the first verse *Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata*, and the last, *Vt maneam quod uix oculis cognoscere possis*, have an abruptness little suited to the beginning or end of a poem.

A question will here be raised. Why should not these 80 verses be, as the MSS give them, the last part of an execratory poem ? Is there anything impossible in a poet beginning by pronouncing a series of curses on the lands where he had been happy with his love, and which are now to be alienated to a strange soldier ; then, as the force of his invective spends itself, turning to the thought of his love, and so to reflections on the happiness of the fields where she will remain, when he is himself forced to leave them ; finally to bitter, but still softened, expostulations against the cruelty of fate which will not suffer him to consort any longer with the object of his passion, and forces him to languish and pine ?

The answer to this must be drawn from general grounds of lite-

rary propriety. A poet with a grievance which cannot content itself without venting at the least computation 85 lines of formal cursing, would seriously damage the unity of effect, and therefore the total effectiveness of his poem, if he allowed his invective to subside into a querimonious love-complaint; if beginning with blood and fire he ended with sighing and tears.

The praises of Cinna and Ticide, both of them eminent in poetry, are sufficient vouchers of Cato's literary skill; and we may feel assured that his poetic curse was self-consistent and, like the *Ibis* of a later writer, left a sustained impression of bitterness and indignation on the minds of those who read it. Besides, the poet of the *Dirae* himself tells us in express terms where his curse ended. In 97 he says, *Extremum carmen reuocemus, Battare, auena*: it is very unlikely that after this the poem should have gone on for eighty verses on a *new* theme.

We may assume then that the last eighty verses of the poem, which are wholly occupied with the poet's passion for Lydia, are absolutely distinct from the *Dirae*. They are, however, though distinct, connected with it by the occurrence of Lydia in both. What was the connexion? which of the two was written first? A brief abstract of these eighty verses will help us to decide.

1-21. I envy the fields where my beautiful Lydia will now live severed from me. They will see the maiden on whom my eyes used to look; and will hear her recite my verses in her praise, as she sings them reclining on the grass. Then will woods, fields, springs rejoice: the birds will be silent to listen; the brooks will run more slowly. Yes, I envy the fields for possessing a pleasure which once was mine only.

Observe the noticeable recurrence at an interval of 21 verses of the *Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata, Inuideo uobis agri, mea gaudia habetis*. This is like the recurring refrain of the *Dirae*—

Battare, cygneas repetamus carmine uoces,
Rursus et hoc iterum repetamus Battare carmen
Nec mihi saepe meum resonabit Battare carmen
Tristius hoc memini reuocasti Battare carmen
Dulcius hoc memini reuocasti Battare carmen
Extremum carmen reuocemus Battare auena.

22. I meanwhile pine away with grief to think that Lydia is not with me. No maiden could be more beautiful or more cultured: Jove might have wooed her as bull or gold shower (*tauro loue*

digna uel auro). Happy the race of animals! The bull that leads the herd, the goat that heads the flock, are not separated from their mates: each male has his female.

37. Why was not Nature as kind to me? At evening when the stars return to the green sky the Moon is with her Endymion. Apollo loved a bay: all the Gods have had their favorites, whose emblems are still carried in their processions, or shine as constellations in the sky. In the Golden Age mortals were happier: witness the legends of Ariadne and Theseus, Medea and Jason.

50. What has our era done that the Gods should be so cruel now? Am I the first lover who ventured to consummate his passion? Would indeed that I were! My fame would be immortal, as the man who stole the sweets of passion first and was the originator of love's pleasure.

61. But Jupiter lay with Juno before he became her wedded husband amid the purple flowers of Ida. Mars was too busy with war, Vulcan with his forge, to notice. Aurora too wept a lover after Tithonus. Unhappy I, born in a time when such love was forbidden. My sad destiny has robbed me of happiness and reduced my body to a shadow.

From this abstract it appears that Lydia was a young girl of great beauty and highly cultivated, that she lived in the country, and there fell in the way of Valerius Cato, whom she inspired not only with an ardent passion, but (if we may trust the natural meaning of vv. 53-55 sqq.) a passion which came to more than words. In the poem before us he expresses his misery at being obliged to part from her; she would now roam through the fields unattended and alone: he meanwhile is reduced to a mere shadow of his former self by grief at his separation.

In the *Dirae* Lydia is also spoken of as living in the country, and a wood which is specially called hers is doomed by the poet's curse to extinction by lightning: for Jupiter wills himself to destroy the trees which were under his own special protection. She is again mentioned at the end of the *Dirae*. There the poet takes at the same moment farewell of his farm and of Lydia, declaring that alive or dead she should ever be with him, and that her memory would remain in his breast after she had been resolved into elemental fire and water.

Näke thought that the *Lydia* fragment was written before the *Dirae*, on some occasion when Cato had been forced to leave his home in the country, possibly on tiresome business in Rome,

leaving his Lydia to her seclusion. If indeed the fields which in the *Lydia* fragment he describes himself as envying for the uninterrupted possession of such a treasure could be shown to be identical with the fields which in the *Dirae* are laid under a solemn curse; if the woods which in the *Lydia* fragment will rejoice at the presence of Lydia, when the poet has left her, are part of the forest-ground to which the *optima silvarum* known as Lydia's wood in the *Dirae* belong, it follows almost necessarily that the *Lydia* fragment was prior to the *Dirae*. For in the latter poem, the whole landed domain of the poet, now assigned to a new proprietor, is laid under a curse; part is to be blasted by lightning, part consumed by fire, part submerged by the sea. The poet has taken his leave of it: henceforth he will not associate it with his happiness, will only think of it with the bitter resentment of an alien dispossess, and dispossess by a soldier. How improbable that after this he should speak of the same woods, fields and springs with a pensive regret, envying their good fortune in still possessing the maiden of his love, and picturing their pleasure when she chants his verses, presses her limbs on the grass, or picks the still green grape, unripened as yet by the suns of autumn. Such a mood, with the rest of the soliloquy following, would be impossible as a *sequel* to the other, if the fields where Lydia wanders alone in the fragment are the fields where she lived with Cato, as described in the curse. Näge seems right in concluding that, if the scene of the *Dirae* is, as it appears *prima facie*, the scene of the *Lydia*, the latter was written first. There is, however, nothing to prove this, and it must remain a conjecture. Yet it may be thought to have this in its favor, that so read and in this order, the two poems are harmonious.

Assume, however, that the locale of the two is *not* the same; Näge's view will still stand unshaken. The Lydia of the fragment is a mere girl, still immature; the Lydia of the *Dirae* is a woman, with whom the poet has long cohabited, and the memory of whom will survive her death.

It would seem to follow from this that the *Lydia* was written when the poet was quite young. For, in spite of the counter-arguments of Näge, Suetonius' words *ipse libello, cui est titulus Indignatio, ingenuum se natum ait et pupillum relictum, eoque facilius licentia sullani temporis exutum patrimonio*, connect the loss of his estate with the fact that he was left a minor; and if he was under fourteen or fifteen when he was ousted from his patri-

mony, he must have been younger when he first formed an attachment to Lydia. Without pressing Suetonius' words to this extent, we may perhaps suppose that extreme youth prevented him from asserting his rightful claims in the first instance, and that when the matter came to be decided legally, and a verdict was pronounced against him (*O male deuoti praetorum crimina agelli*), he was not powerful enough to get it set aside: though the *Indignatio* (a prose work, I think, rather than a poem as Näge believed), which he published some time after his spoliation, proves that he did not submit to be dispossessed without some show of resistance.

I must pause here to consider the sceptical views of Merkel and K. F. Hermann, each of whom denies the justice of Scaliger's ascription of the two poems to Valerius Cato.

1. *External arguments.* Suetonius says Cato lost his patrimony by the licence of the times of Sulla. This means *not* that he was turned out of his lands by a soldier, but lost his property by some forensic chicanery, or the artifices of a Chrysogonus.

To which we may reply, that lands might be included in patrimony, and that in the countless acts of spoliation which attended Sulla's proscriptions, the *mode* of robbery was not always the same. Possibly Cato's father was proscribed; then his property would be put up to auction, and bought at a nominal sum by some centurion or officer in Sulla's interest.

2. There is no evidence that Cato wrote a *Dirae* at all. This of course proves nothing. Suetonius *implies* that Cato wrote other poems besides his *Lydia* and *Diana*. Conceivably our *Dirae* formed part of the *Indignatio*.

3. If the poetry of Cato belonged to the earlier Ciceronian epoch, why should Ovid mention it with the later generation, Cinna, Anser, Cornificius, i. e. the contemporaries of Catullus?

Obviously because poetically he was associated with the *new* school, not with the old. We know this from the eulogies passed on his poems by Ticia and Cinna.

2. *Internal objections.* As a *pupillus* Cato could neither have been in love with Lydia, nor be called *uetus dominus* of the farm, nor have written several poems already.

But Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's note on Juv. XI 156 is enough to show that *pupillaris* nearly = *nequam*, and the scholion there shows why: the loss of a father necessarily weakens the control which the maturing passions of an Italian boy demand. And how many boys have written love-poems! who can say when Catullus

first broke into song? or when Byron scribbled his first rhymes? As to *ueteris domini* the poet may mean not himself but his father. Or again the *Dirae* may have received its final shape long after the events which caused it were recent.

To these objections of Merkel and K. F. Hermann, Haupt and Lachmann added two others drawn from the language. Näke in his most erudite review of the particularities of style in the *Dirae* and *Lydia* fragment dwells much on the transference of *et, quom* in such cases as *arboribus coniungat et ardor aristas Sidera per uiridem redeunt quom pallida mundum Militis impia quom succedet dextera ferro*, doubting whether to regard this phenomenon as part of an ancient simplicity of style or a metrical convenience. Haupt in his *Observationes Criticae*, p. 47, published in 1841, six years before Näke's posthumous edition, calls attention to the same point, the transference of *et* and *atque* *Dir.* 43, 110; *Lyd.* 56 *Istius atque utinam facti mea culpa magistra Prima foret*, and having shown that such transference is not found in Cicero's *Aratea*, only five times in Lucretius, and in Catullus not at all, takes occasion to object to Scaliger's ascription of the two poems to Cato, and agrees with Merkel in believing them to be by another poet, and written in 713-41 when Octavius was distributing lands to his veterans. Lachmann, on *Lucr.* IV 604, draws a similar conclusion from the trajection of *namque* in *Lyd.* 12, *Dulci namque tumet nondum uitecula Baccho*.

Such reasonings, in the loss of so much poetical literature as we know to have existed, are necessarily unconvincing. We have not all even that Catullus wrote; most of Cicero's later poems have perished; of Bibaculus and Varro of Atax the merest fragments survive: the utmost we can fairly infer from what we have is that in the poetry we possess up to the deaths of Catullus and Lucretius (roughly we may say up to 50 B. C.) such transference of particles is rare. But then the style of the *Dirae* and *Lydia* is, as Näke shows at length, peculiar and exceptional; the very form and matter of the *Dirae* is unique. Surely Näke's view, to regard such transferences of particles as marks of idiosyncrasy, of a specific genius which must have its own forms of expression, to note and classify them, without pronouncing that they belong to a time twenty or thirty years earlier or later, is the sane, indeed the only logical procedure.

I have tried to show that the poem or series of poems to which the *Lydia* fragment belongs was prompted by a real passion and

written before it subsided. Coeval with the *Lydia* were other poems written at the same early period: these he taught Lydia to sing, at first to himself: in the fragment she is described as conning them alone and then singing them aloud to the fields and wood which he could no longer share with her.

Et mea summissa meditatur carmina uoce
Cantat et interea mihi quae cantabat in aurem.

Näke thought these other poems were also amatory; but this is more than can be proved, though in itself very likely. They may have been included in the collective *Lydia*, which as we saw above possessed qualities that drew upon it the sustained study of learned critics. Whether the original form was what we now have it is difficult to say. It is not impossible that the first draught of the *Lydia*, which must have been a very early work, was re-written when Cato had matured his powers by reading and lecturing on poetry as a *litterator* at Rome. Neither the *Dirae* nor the *Lydia* fragment are specially fine. Ovid goes the length even of calling Cato's poetry *leue opus*, classing it as such with the verses of Cornificius (*Trist.* II 436). It must have been friendship or perhaps Cato's wide celebrity which made Furius Bibaculus call him not only *unicum magistrum* and *summum grammaticum*, but also *optimum poetam*. Or (and this is a more solid hypothesis), the mythological learning which even in its abridged form the *Lydia* exhibits, was at that time fashionable as part of the reaction against the older Roman poetry, and as ranking their author with the rising school, which looked to Catullus as its greatest exponent, to Calvus, Cinna and Cornificius as inferior representatives. With Catullus Cato was intimately associated, if we adopt the prevailing view that it was to him that the well-known hendecasyllables were addressed, *O rem ridiculam Cato et iocosam, Dignamque auribus et tuo cachinno*. I have argued at some length against this in my Commentary: though it can count in the list of its adherents Achilles Statius, Scaliger and Ribbeck: and it is undeniable that the *auribus et cachinno* would agree with the description of Valerius Cato which Suetonius has quoted from his contemporary and friend Furius Bibaculus *En cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis* and the distich perhaps also by Bibaculus

Cato grammaticus Latina Siren
Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

In the *Dirae* mythology plays no great rôle; it was in the *Lydia*, as our fragment is enough amply to show, probably even more in the *Diana* or *Dictynna* (Näke thought the poem may have had both names, and conjectured that part of the matter it treated was a disquisition on the meaning and connexion of the two) that the poet-grammarian displayed his stores of erudition: just as the author of the *Ciris* dwells lovingly on the legend of Britomartis, and informs us how some called her Aphaea, while others gave one of her names, Dictynna, to the Moon. In the *Lydia* the words *tauro loue digna uel auro* allude to Jove's wooing Europa and Danae in the disguise of a bull and a gold-shower; in 40 the passion of Luna for Endymion, in 43 of Apollo for Daphne, in 44-47 the numerous loves of the gods for mortals are briefly summed up in the vv.

Omnia uos estis: secum sua gaudia gestat
Aut inspersa videt mundo, quae dicere longum est.

In 48 the Golden Age and the happiness of heroic love is contrasted with the wretched conditions of passion in the poet's own time: Ariadne and Medea are felicitated. Lastly, the union of Jupiter with Juno on Mount Ida, and Aurora's passion for Cephalus are described.

Let us now look at Cato's management of the hexameter. If my arguments at the outset were just, Cato's *Lydia* was composed (or at least the first draught of it) before the Sullan proscriptions of 82 B. C. Ten years later, in 72, Catullus was fifteen, but if we follow the opinion of most critics, his hexameter epyllion on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis was not written before 60. Vergil's earliest Eclogues are not earlier than 43 B. C. These, with Cicero's *Aratea* and *de Consul. Suo* and Lucretius' didactic poem *De Rerum Natura* are the only remains of sufficient length (putting aside as uncertain the *Culex Ciris Moretum*) to allow of comparison. I will speak of special points and (omitting Lucretius as standing apart) first elision. In 80 vv. of Cicero's *Aratea* (237-317) I counted twenty-eight elisions of all kinds; in the first eighty of the *Peleus and Thetis* twenty-three; in the eighty-three vv. of Vergil's first Eclogue there are seventeen, in the seventy-three of Ecl. II twenty-five, in the sixty-three of Ecl. IV only thirteen. In the *Lydia* fragm. I counted in eighty verses seventeen elisions. But it is a most noticeable point in these that instead of being multiform, i. e. of long and short vowels or -*um* indifferently, no

less than ten of them are elided before *est*, in four the last syllable of *atque* is elided, and the remaining three are all short syllables, *quæ laederẽ gaudiã*. Judging therefore by the *Lydia* fragm. alone, we may say that the laws of elision are more strict than in any of the other poets. Turning to the *Dirae* we find even greater strictness. In the first eighty verses there are only nine; though four of them are elisions of long syllables: in the whole 103 verses there are twenty. One entire segment of the poem (a phenomenon which I have noticed also in the *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus) is without any, 8-44; though there are reasons for believing that some verses are lost between thirty-four and thirty-five, and the calculation is therefore a little uncertain. One specialty of elision, common to both the poems, has been noticed by Näke, I mean the elision of the last syllable of a dactylic word before a bacchius at the end of the verse. Näke enumerates eight instances, *libera auena, impia agellos, flumina amica, aduena arator, crimina agelli, Battare auena, gaudia habetis, ludere in herba*. A similar dactylic elision occurs at the outset of one verse of the *Dirae*, *Dulcia amara prius fient*. Näke says this peculiarity of rhythm could not have happened so often in so short a poem had the writer belonged to the new school. I think, myself, whatever school of poetry Cato may have been thought to have belonged to, that this special ending betrays early composition. It may therefore be taken as a metrical argument of some cogency in favor of Scaliger's hypothesis.

2. *Caesura*. Both the poems in this respect show a still undeveloped skill. The beginning of the *Lydia* fragment may be taken as a fair specimen of the rhythm throughout. The predominance of the penthemimeral caesura is marked and produces a monotonous effect. Verses like

Nam certe Volcanus opus faciebat et illi
Ergo quod deus atque heros, cur non minor aetas
Infelix ego, non illo qui tempore natus
Quo facilis natura fuit. Sors o mea laeua.

are rare. The Bucolic caesura, in which the fourth foot is a dactyl and ends a word, occurs in its strictest form four times,

At male tabescunt morientia membra dolore
Siue tibi siluis noua pabula fastidire
Aurea quin etiam quom saecula uoluebantur
Purpureos flores quos insuper accumbebat

in all of which the fourth dactyl is either one word or the last part of one; in its broken form, i. e. in which the dactyl is made up of two words, it is pretty frequent: there are thirteen cases in eighty lines.

Siue libet campis, tecum tua laeta capella est
Omnia uos estis, secum sua gaudia gestat

may be taken as types. In this respect the *Dirae* marks an advance on the *Lydia* fragment,

Rura quibus diras indiximus, impia uota
Haec Veneris uario florentia sarta decore
Dulcia non oculis, non auribus ulla ferantur
Monstra repentinis terrentia saepe figuris
Piscetur nostris in finibus aduena arator
Dulcia rura ualete et Lydia dulcior illis
Tardius a miserae descendite monte capellae
Rura ualete iterum tuque optima Lydia salue

alternate with the broken form sufficiently often to prove that Cato had made a considerable study of Theocritus. It is, however, very noticeable that the spondeiazon which is found three times in the *Lydia*, always with a pleasing effect, is entirely absent from the *Dirae*. The reason may probably be found in the denunciatory tone of the greater part of it; it is only in the concluding verses that the poet strikes into a softer note.

Compare this with the first 180 lines of the *Peleus and Thetis*. In these the bucolic caesura occurs twenty times, preferably in the strict form, and that usually followed by a spondee in the fifth foot *Nereides admirantes, flagrantia declinauit, carmine compellabo*, once by a dactyl and spondee in one word, *flexibus egredientem*, a freedom which Cato has nowhere permitted himself. For a moment, indeed, the excessive recurrence in Catullus of the rhythm *prognatae uertice pinus*, might almost seem to give to Cato the advantage of variety in rhythm. But on attentive examination it will, I think, be felt that Catullus has the advantage even here, as of course in all the essential qualities which distinguish the great poet from the versifier.

Peleus and Thetis, 71-79:

A misera, assiduis quam luctibus externauit
Spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas,
Illa tempestate, ferox quo ex tempore Theseus
Egressus curuis e litoribus Piraei
Attigit iniusti regis Cortinia tecta.

Nam perhibent olim crudeli peste coactam
 Androgeoneae poenas exoluere caedis
 Electos iuuenes simul et decus innuptarum
 Cecropiam solitam esse dapem dare Minotauro.

Here the favorite rhythm does not occur at all, and every one of the other verses is distinct from its neighbor.

There is, however, one point, and one only, in which the two poems of Cato can contrast favorably even with Catullus. Read through the *Peleus and Thetis*, and you will be astonished to find in how many cases the pause of the sentence or clause coincides with the end of the verse. This is particularly observable at the beginning of the poem, but throughout it marks a point of immature development. Whereas in the *Lydia* already in v. 3 the sentence is continued and completed from the previous line, *mea quod formosa puella Euobis tacite nostrum suspirat amorem*. So in vv. 13 and 14, 24, 25, 26, 27,

non ulla puella
 Doctior in terris fuit aut formosior : ac si
 Fabula non uana est, tauro Ioue digna uel auro,
 Iuppiter auertas aurem, mea sola puella est.

and indeed throughout both the poems. It would be perhaps hazardous to conclude too much from this, yet it may induce us to be more sceptical in assenting to the supposed late date of the *Peleus and Thetis*. The influence of Cicero's *Aratea* seems to some extent still perceptible; and this it could hardly have been if it was written as late as 56 or 54 B. C.

I will now enumerate some points which the laborious erudition of Näge has collected as attesting an early style. Many, but not all of them, fall under what he calls *antiqua simplicitas*.

(1) Repetition of the same words or types of expression in different parts of either poem at short intervals.

Dir. 20. Veneris uario florentia sarta decore

Lyd. 13. inter uarios Venerem stipantia flores
 Membra reclinarit

Lyd. 14. illiserit herbam

66. elidere in herba Purpureos flores

Lyd. 37. Cur non et nobis facilis natura fuisset?

77. Quo facilis natura fuit

Lyd. 48. Condicio similis fuerat mortalibus illis

52. Condicio nobis uitae

- Lyd. 58. Dulcia cum Veneris furatus gaudia primus
 65. Gaudia libavit dulcem furatus amorem
 so *felix, formosus, umbrae* recur again and again.
- Dir. 10. felicia rura
 33. felicia ligna
 90. felix nomen agelli
- Dir. 27. formosis uirectis
 32. Formosae umbrae
- Lyd. 1, 2. Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata
 Hoc formosa magis, mea quod formosa puella
 E uobis, etc.
24. non ulla puella Doctior in terris fuit aut formosior
- Dir. 43. diffusis
 49. diffunditis
 51. perfundat
 63. infundimus
 65. diffundite
 77. diffuso
- (2) Double epithets.
- Dir. 92. Mollia non iterum carpetis pabula nota.
 Cf. Cat. LXVI, Illius a mala dona levis bibat irrita pulvis.
- Under this head may be reckoned
- Dir. 16, 17. Pallida flauescant aestu sitientia prata
 Inmatura cadant ramis pendientia mala.
- (3) Juxtaposition of substantive and epithet.
- Dir. 42. Vicinae flammae rapiant ex ordine uites
 97. Extremum carmen repetamus Battare auena.
- Lyd. 11. Aut roseis digitis uiridem decerpserit uuam.
- (4) Peculiar or unnatural position of words.
- non.*
- Dir. 13. Ipsae non siluae frondes, non pampinus uuas.
- Compare with this
- Cul. 26. tibi namque canit non pagina bellum
 Cul. 29. Urit Erichonias Oriens non ignibus arces
et.
- arboribus coniungat et ardor aristas.

Also in the Culex 51

Pendula proiectis carpuntur et arbusta ramis

which, however, must be later in composition. In Propertius this trajectory of *et* is very frequent. Näke quotes six certain examples,

six from Tibullus. Though therefore a specialism in the *Dirae* and *Lydia*, it is a sign not of archaic style, but of the style which was coming in.

quom.

Lyd. 39. Sidera per uiridem redeunt quom pallida mundum.

47. Aurea quin etiam quom saecula uoluebantur.

Dir. 31. Militis impia quom succaedet dextera ferro.

Very little stress can be laid on this, which is simply the effort of poetry to throw off the yoke of prose.

qui. The simple old connective use of *qui* stands on a very different footing. It is a distinct sign of archaism of poetry still not sufficiently marked off from prose. In the *Dirae* one instance occurs—

78. imbres, Qui dominis infesta minantes stagna relinquunt.

In the *Culex* it forms a marked feature.

Cul. 109-112.

Delia diua, tuo, quo quondam uicta furore
Venit Nyctelium fugiens Cadmeis Agaue
Infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta
Quae gelidis bacchata iugis requieuit in antro.

Cul. 120. Ipsa loci natura domum resonante susurro

Quis dabat.

Cul. 143. Quis aderat ueteris myrtus non nescia fati.

Cul. 168. ecfert Sublimi ceruice caput: *cui* crista superne.

Two other points, also observed by Näke: (1) *Parenthesis*, (2) *Apostrophe*, belong also to a newer and a freer style, and are in no way archaic.

(1) Dir. 35. Iuppiter (ipse

Iuppiter hanc aluit) cinis haec tibi fiat oportet.

Dir. 66. Nil est quod perdam ulterius—maris omnia—diris.

Lyd. 26, 27. tauro Ioue digna uel auro

Iuppiter auertas aurem—mea sola puella est.

(2) *Apostrophe* may almost be called the most marked feature of the *Dirae*, as is natural in a curse. It falls into two genera.

(1) The address in the vocative of the objects *cursed*, the fields, the wood of Lydia; of the objects *by which the curse is to be effected*, the rivers and sea-waters, the objects *which the poet* removes with him at his departure, his cattle and goats.

- (2) Change from third person of prose narrative to second of poetry.

Dir. 8. dicam tua facta, Lycurge,

15. sulci condatis auenas.

83. Tuque inimica tui semper discordia ciuis.

Some of these points show the author of the *Dirae* and *Lydia* as still under early influences, others as making a departure to a newer, more absolutely poetic style. There is, I believe, nothing which conclusively militates with the view of Scaliger, that the two poems (at least in their earliest form) belonged to the *former* half of the last century of the Republic. And if this is so, we may estimate the excessive unhappiness of the Sullan proscriptions; for poetry, with the ancients, did not often take the form of a solemn curse; and the only perfect specimen besides the *Dirae* which has descended to us, the *Ibis* of Ovid, records one of the deepest tragedies which has ever befallen a great poet. Whatever we may think of Cato's success in his cursing—for my own part I would not compare it for an instant with the *Ibis*—the choice of that *form* must, I think, point to a real indignation that can only have been prompted by a real wrong. If Ribbeck in his recently published *History of Roman Poetry* (I, p. 311) can bring himself to believe that Cato was recalled by the triumviral division of lands in 41 B. C. to the memory of his own dispossession forty years before, and wrote his *Dirae* then, at a period when his powers were matured, nature and reason, I imagine, are alike against him. It must have been when the outrage was still recent, that the poem first took shape, though there is nothing to prevent its being recast and re-edited later. As little can I feel anything like improvisation in its structure. The facility of a Statius who could throw off most of his *Silvae* in a single day, the longest of them in two, is utterly absent. The poet has at best but a thin vein of poetry, and that he seems to have cultivated to the best of his ability.

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